



Cultural journalism in the Danish printed press – a history of decline or increasing media institutional profiling?

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The historical transformation of cultural journalism

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ABSTRACT

This article is based on the first content analysis of the coverage of culture, lifestyle and consumption – or ‘journalism on culture’ – in the Danish printed press during the twentieth century. It argues that cultural journalism has expanded and developed its focus, interpretation and presentation of culture concurrently with a changing culture and consumer industry and especially as part of, and a result of, an increasingly competitive and professionalized media landscape. This should be seen in the light of a culturalized and mediatized society: the media (in this case the newspapers analysed and their coverage of ‘journalism on culture’) have developed from cultural institutions with a primary focus on the common public interest, towards media institutions whose primary focus is commercial and media-professional. More specifically, contemporary cultural journalism – in a continuum between culture, lifestyle and consumption – is of considerable value and importance to the newspapers as media institutions. The individual newspapers, however, manage the form and content of their coverage of these subjects quite differently, according to their existing editorial profiles. Thus, cultural journalism is a subject of both shared editorial priority and differentiation.

KEYWORDS

cultural journalism, culture wars, press history, mediatization, media profiling

INTRODUCTION

In opposition to part of the existing research on cultural journalism (e.g. Bech-Karlsen 1991; Lund 2000, 2005), this article argues that cultural journalism is not in decline. Rather it has quite naturally expanded and developed the focus, interpretation and presentation of culture in line with a changing culture and consumer industry and an increasingly competitive and professionalized media landscape.

More specifically, the article demonstrates that cultural journalism has considerable importance, at least in the Danish printed press, which is being used for the present purpose as a case study. Yet Danish newspapers approach their cultural coverage in differing ways, according to existing editorial and media-institutional profiles. This relates to a final argument in the article, namely that cultural journalism must today be interpreted as a continuum between culture, lifestyle and consumption – in short as ‘journalism on culture’, the generic term used in the article. The aim is namely to demonstrate how, in contrast to earlier times, these contiguous subject matters are inter-related and sometimes even inseparable, as well as objects of shared editorial priority and differentiation in the contemporary cultural journalism of Danish newspapers.

Empirically, the article is based on selected findings from a content analysis of the coverage of culture, lifestyle and consumption in four Danish printed newspapers during the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first. It focuses especially on the priority given to various cultural subjects and the use of genres from a historical and a media-institutional perspective, aiming to shed light on both similarities and differences among the

newspapers analysed. These historical and media-specific findings highlight both continuity and transformation in the presentation and interpretation of culture in the Danish press.

Discussions of (1) the development of the concept of culture and hence the cultural industry during the twentieth century and (2) the simultaneous development of the media as an institution and the consequent professionalization of journalism form the theoretical framework for these findings. More specifically, the theory of the mediatization of culture, consumption and society (Jansson 2002; Hjarvard 2008a) seems to encompass these interrelated perspectives, since it concerns not only the developing cultural and consumer industry, but especially the changing and increasingly competitive media landscape. As Hjarvard (2008a) has argued in his institutional approach to the theory of mediatization, the media (in this case the newspapers analysed and their coverage of 'journalism on culture') are both inseparable from culture and society and independent institutions that influence the (inter)actions of other institutions.

'CULTURE WARS' IN CULTURAL JOURNALISM RESEARCH

Compared to the substantial research that has been devoted to political journalism in West European and North American contexts, research on cultural journalism appears fairly undeveloped (e.g. Knapskog and Larsen 2008). This seems surprising since for several decades printed newspapers have been bursting with sections dedicated to cultural and lifestyle topics. Furthermore, these stories quite often slip into the national and business pages, which has led to the criticism of 'newszak' invading investigative journalism (Franklin 1997, 2008), of soft news overrunning hard news (Plasser 2005) and of down-right tabloidization (e.g. Turner 2004: 71ff).

Regardless of geographic and media-systemic differences, existing international studies of cultural content in the press tend to be characterized by a narrow interpretation of culture in terms of 'art' as opposed to popular culture. This sometimes leads to pessimistic conclusions, since nowadays less priority is given – for example, by the Scandinavian, Dutch and American press (e.g. Lund 2005; Janssen 1999; NAJP 1999, 2000, 2004) – to art (e.g. theatre, classical music, visual and performance arts) and higher priority to (popular) music, film and fiction. By extension, contemporary cultural journalists are often criticized for reflecting the agenda of the modern cultural industry, to an extent that there seems to be little separation between journalism and public relations (Strahan 2009). They are criticized too for providing merely entertainment, service and listings, rather than considered cultural reflection and information (Bech-Karlsen 1991; Lund 2000, 2005; Golin and Cardoso 2009: 72).

The high culture/popular culture divide – or 'culture wars' – underlying these studies (Gans 1999: 3; Burke 2008: 141) has long been challenged, especially by cultural studies since the 1960s (Burke 2008: 140; Dahlgren 1992: 4, 6). According to Gans (1999: 77ff), however, the divide still exists under new forms and arguments. This is confirmed by academic analyses of the cultural content of newspapers. Thus, for example Jensen and Larsen's (2010) analyses of the coverage of music by European newspapers demonstrate that the 'culture wars' persist in the cultural columns of the press. Furthermore, journalists themselves confirm this, since certain aspects of cultural journalism seem to occupy a secondary position in the journalistic hierarchy, despite the elitist self-understanding of many cultural critics (Harries and Wahl-Jørgensen 2007; Dahlgren 1992: 8). Finally, the divide seems to resurface in public debate about cultural canons (Guins and Cruz 2005:2) and more extraordinarily, in the Danish context, in the aftermath of the Muhammad-cartoon crisis, in which Danish cultural journalists were accused of being uncritical, provincial and simplistic.¹

One should note that the historical time frame of the existing studies typically covers the second part of the twentieth century (Janssen 1999; Canclini 2003; Lund 2005; Larsen 2008; Jensen and Larsen 2010). With differing emphases and undertones, these studies consequently explain changing cultural priorities in the press as the result first and foremost of changes in the culture industry; these include media-institutional changes, and the professionalization of cultural producers and institutions. In addition to its rather narrow conception of culture and the specific historical time frame it is working with, much of the existing research is thus (deliberately or unconsciously) marked by the normative idea of cultural journalism as having once been 'something else' – something 'superior' to the contemporary coverage (e.g. Bech-Karlsen 1991; Lund 2000, 2005; NAJP 1999, 2000, 2004).²

A GLOBALIZED AND MEDIATIZED SOCIETY

In very broad terms one essential characteristic of Danish culture (and society) between the two world wars, but especially after the Second World War, was that it was heavily influenced by American popular culture, technology and consumption. This Americanization led to criticism of cultural and national decline from both intellectual and conservative voices, but also to radical cultural optimism and a belief in liberation, anti-authoritarianism and rebellion, not least amongst youth (Jensen 2001a: 308–10, 320–22).³ Another important and related characteristic of Danish post-war society was the emergence of the welfare state and consumerism – with the media, including both television and the press, playing an important role as both producers and distributors of the changing, globalized palette of culture and consumption (Jensen 2001b: 13ff). Jensen (2001b: 21) summarizes these developments as follows (my translation from Danish): 'In the period 1960–1995 the Danes experienced the transition from a society of scarcity with a rather traditional business structure and with a nationally demarcated culture, to a society where wealth is dependent on information work, and in which culture – food, clothing, media – are increasingly global'. Thus, the relations between society, culture and media have changed significantly. From a media-sociological perspective, the concept of 'mediatization' thus offers a relevant theoretical framework for understanding these transformations, since it relates precisely to changing relations between (e.g. Danish) society, culture, media and, consequently, cultural journalism – or, as Hjarvard phrases it (2008a: 105), 'the influence the media exert on society and culture'. The concept of mediatization has thus been the inspiration behind the empirical design of the study presented below.

Anchored in a discussion of the mediatization of consumption, Swedish media theorist Jansson (2002) argues that in contemporary society traditional cultural products are launched, communicated and discussed as consumer goods. Functional consumer products, on the other hand, are presented as cultural artefacts with priority given to their symbolic value over their mere functional usefulness. 'So while the economy gets culturalized, cultural life gets commercialized' argues Jansson (2002: 6). For this reason 'it is no longer possible to make any substantial distinction between them' (Jansson 2002: 7) since 'media culture and consumer culture are theoretically overlapping and empirically inseparable categories' (Jansson 2002: 11). Although they do not make explicit reference to 'mediatization', Knapskog and Larsen (2008: 13, 15) similarly argue not only that the established understanding of art, culture and aesthetics has been challenged by the emergence of a global cultural and media industry, since it has blurred the boundaries between cultural aesthetics, products and consumer goods, but that this has also, more specifically, altered the conditions of cultural journalism by expanding the subjects and generic approaches of this journalistic topic considerably – or to put it another way, by changing and expanding the cultural reality that the newspapers cover.

In broader media-sociological and institutional terms, Hjarvard (2008a: 113ff) argues for a shift during the twentieth century from the idea that the media are 'chiefly instruments in the hands of other institutions' – for example, publishing channels for various cultural or artistic institutions – through the idea that they are cultural institutions that deal with various social institutions, for example culture or the arts, from a broad perspective but primarily in the public interest, to the notion that media institutions operate in an increasingly competitive media landscape, and therefore with a primary focus on their own commercial and professional interests and agendas. Hjarvard emphasizes that the media continuously serve as a platform or arena for the communication of other institutions. Yet his essential point in this context is that 'Other institutions have [...] become raw material for the product the media serve to their readers, viewers and listeners' (Hjarvard 2008a:119). Referring to Jansson's (2002:14–5) discussions of the mediatization of culture and consumption, Hjarvard (2008a: 108) more specifically points to the fact that 'Whereas culture once was either imbued with the hierarchy of taste that prevailed in cultural institutions or, in the case of trivial culture, was linked to local ways of life, the media today occupy a dominating position as providers of cultural products and beliefs'. As I will demonstrate empirically and argue in the analytical parts of this article, this seems to be precisely the case in relation to cultural journalism, that is, the coverage of culture in the newspapers analysed first and foremost sets a cultural agenda with a view to the media logic, profile and interests of the specific newspapers, rather than primarily with a view to cultural objects, the cultural industry and/or cultural hierarchies of taste.

Hjarvard (2008a: 120ff) further argues that mediatization affects society at different levels. In the context of this article especially the following notions of the media seem relevant (Hjarvard 2008a: 125ff): the media as (1) interfaces in the relations within and between institutions (for example, when cultural journalism serves as a platform for communicating cultural objects to cultural consumers); (2) a realm of shared experiences (for example, when cultural journalism conveys a specific interpretation of culture to both cultural institutions and their audiences);⁴ and (3) a political – in this empirical context perhaps also a cultural – sphere in which various institutions (for example, artistic organizations or cultural producers) can attend to their interests and public legitimacy. In relation to all these functions, the media logic or logics⁵ play an important role. To a greater or lesser extent the various institutions adapt to or integrate (Schulz 2004) this logic in their interactions with other institutions, not least the media themselves. Furthermore, the media logic sets the terms of 'a shared experiential world' (Hjarvard 2008a: 126, 129). Hjarvard argues that the degree of mediatization can therefore be measured by the extent to which the media logic influences the autonomy of a given institution.

These changing media-institutional roles are closely related to changes within journalism as such, that is, to the professionalization of journalism that in the Danish context has been especially marked since the 1970s (Hjarvard 2008a: 118; Kristensen 2000). This professionalization, among other things, involves independence not only from political, but also from cultural agendas and interests, as well as changing approaches to the form and content of journalism. As I will illustrate in the analysis below, the coverage of culture as a journalistic topic is one example of these journalistic changes.

A BROAD APPROACH TO CULTURE

The theoretical frameworks presented above point to shifting power relations between high culture and popular culture, but also more broadly to the 'art' and 'life' distinctions outlined in Raymond Williams' classical definition of culture as 'a whole way of life' (1958: xvi, xviii; Gans 1999: 6), that is, the idea of culture as aesthetic expression (the hierarchical

perspective) and as concerned with the processes of everyday life (the anthropological approach). From an analytical point of view, it thus becomes problematic per se to distinguish between art and popular culture as distinct elements in, for example, cultural journalism. Similarly, in contemporary media culture it becomes increasingly difficult empirically to determine that the content of a newspaper article belongs categorically to (high/popular) culture as distinct from other matters of lifestyle, consumption or, for that matter, politics or economics. As Golin and Cardoso (2009:69) point out, 'cultural journalism is in a heterogeneous zone of media, genres and products that encompasses the production, circulation and consumption of symbolic goods in the field of the arts, literature, social and human sciences for different purposes: creative, critical or simply making them public. This specialized field is noticeably broad in terms of content'.

An illustration of this from the content analysis presented below is an article on the movie *Sex and the City* (King 2008). The article was published in the broadsheet *Jyllands-Posten* on the opening day of the movie in Denmark (6 July 2008). More specifically it was placed in the business section under a page on branding, and headed 'Super bowl for women'. This rather long article mainly focuses on the movie as a vehicle for branding commodities and ways of life – only to a lesser degree is it understood to be and analysed as an aesthetic expression as such. The article is illustrated by a photo of the movie's four main female leads, along with a fact sheet (on the television series and the movie) and a cropped picture of the main character, Carrie Bradshaw, played by Sarah Jessica Parker. Whether this last picture represents an on- or off-screen persona – 'Carrie Bradshaw' or Sarah Jessica Parker – is not readily discernible. This ambiguity in itself points to a blurring of boundaries between the (fictional) media product and the real-life celebrity (see Turner 2004). The content and form of the article exemplify how contemporary media culture represents both commercial (pop) cultural products and cultural phenomena, processes or lived culture (life) in a mediatized society. In Jansson's terms (2002), the article illustrates how consumer goods such as clothing, shoes and food enter into cultural circulation – become culturalized – by being presented and discussed in both the movie and the printed press as symbolically laden cultural objects. And vice versa: how cultural objects, in this case both the movie and the press article, become commercialized by entering into the circuit of co-branding and strategic communication, a circuit in which the press plays the role of both analyst and marketing window. Crucially in the context of this article, the example illustrates how cultural products, phenomena and trends are given space both in the cultural columns and across the many specialized sections of the newspaper. It illustrates – at several levels – how, in Jansson's words (2002: 15), 'the mediatization of culture is the process that reinforces and expands the realm of media culture'.

The arguments outlined above explain why it seems reasonable to use 'journalism on culture' as a term for the broad approach to culture that characterizes contemporary newspapers. It seems that newspapers cover, on the face of it, distinct subjects such as contemporary theatre and television talent contests, the designer Verner Panton and wall stickers, artists and celebrities, fashion and relationships as equivalent expressions of contemporary culture. A continuum can be seen to exist between high art, popular culture, lifestyle and consumption. While from a research perspective it opens up a multifaceted field of study,⁶ this broad approach finds theoretical support in the historical developments of the concept of culture itself (e.g. Thompson 1990: 22). Since it can be assumed that these historical transformations have been passed on to and are reflected in, but also amplified by, the newspapers' coverage of culture, it is clear that we need to use a long historical analytical time frame.

METHODOLOGY

Quantitative content analysis is able to provide an empirical basis for a systematic overview of the coverage of cultural subjects in different newspapers at different historical moments (Riffe et al. 2005). By such means the researcher may compare similarities and differences over time.

My own use of content analysis has been designed from a media-institutional perspective, which first means that it includes a constructed one-week sample⁷ from 1890, 1920, 1935, 1960, 1970, 1995 and 2008. These are designated as key years relating to different media-institutional and technological changes in the Danish context that have had a potential influence on the coverage of culture in the press. More specifically, we have chosen to analyse years in which there is a reasonable presumption that these media-institutional changes were consolidated, rather than years of transition that would give rise to periods of journalistic experimentation and instability. The changes include the introduction of the omnibus and tabloid press at the beginning of the twentieth century (year of analysis: 1890, pre-omnibus press – 1920, omnibus press); the introduction of the radio in the 1920s (year of analysis: 1935); the introduction of television in the 1950s and the professionalization of Danish journalism, especially in the 1970s (year of analysis: 1960, 1970); the end of public service television monopoly in 1988 (year of analysis: 1995); and the introduction of the Internet and free dailies in the 1990s and at the beginning of the twenty-first century (year of analysis: 2008). Thus, the study covers a considerable historical period during which cultural expressions, hierarchies and media culture have undergone great changes.

This represents a challenge when designing the coding manual, since the very content of the various cultural categories has been subject to constant change over the last 120 years.⁸ One example is the coverage of the royal family. I included royal coverage as part of cultural journalism in this study, since the royals can today be interpreted as part of celebrity culture. For example, Rojek (2001: 17) argues that celebrity status can be 'ascribed' through blood relations. From a qualitative perspective, however, the newspapers' coverage of the royal family varies considerably around the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, respectively: in 1890 and 1920 royal coverage extended over a wide range of members of the Danish and European royal families, the primary focus being on their health, official visits and travels, which were reported in a formal manner. In 1995 and 2008, the newspapers are concerned first and foremost with the main members of the Danish royal family – the Queen, her husband, her two sons and their fiancées/wives – and most often with their private lives and personalities, which are reported on informally, e.g. by using their first name and no royal titles. From a methodological perspective this emphasizes the well-established advantage of combining quantitative content analysis with more qualitative textual analysis when analysing media content.⁹ Due to limitations in length, however, I have been able to practise this only to a limited extent in the present article.

The study examines four Danish newspapers, three of which have survived throughout the twentieth century,¹⁰ a survival that was crucial given the historical duration of the study. Thus, the newspapers selected are not necessarily representative of the Danish newspaper market in the specific periods analysed in the study. They do, however, represent important different profiles within the market (as far as content, form and readers are concerned) – both in the past and in the present, including as they do two national broadsheets with contrasting political and editorial profiles and geographical bases, plus a tabloid and a free newspaper.¹¹ The four newspapers in question are:

- The liberal/conservative broadsheet *Jyllands-Posten*, founded in 1871, and known historically for giving priority to business news
- The radical/social liberal broadsheet *Politiken*, founded in 1884, and known for giving priority to culture and debate, thus balancing between being a 'news-paper' and a 'views-paper' (Bredal 2009)

- The tabloid Ekstra Bladet, founded in 1905, which has been known since the 1920s for its vigorous social criticism and since the 1960s for its campaigning profile
- The free daily MetroXpress, founded in 2001 and therefore only included in the 2008 sample, but representing the latest development in the printed newspaper market.

In Hjarvard's terms (2007), the free dailies have made a significant contribution to the current division of the Danish press, which is now polarized between, on the one hand, apolitical, commercially driven free newspapers and, on the other, subscription newspapers such as Jyllands-Posten and Politiken. The latter are also commercially driven, but with a publicist point of departure and, to a certain degree, a specific political profile (the tabloid Ekstra Bladet is mainly sold to non-subscribers). Hjarvard (2008b: 89), for example, documents a tendency towards political parallelism (Hallin and Mancini 2004: 26ff) in the Danish broadsheets: there seem to be political parallels between the political orientation of specific newspapers, expressed, for example, through their editorials, the voting patterns of their readers, and the readers' subjective views about the political orientation of their preferred broadsheet. In slightly different terms, Schultz (2007) has labelled the phenomenon 'the segment press', referring to different kinds of newspapers that increasingly target specific readerships, and which differ in this respect from the 'omnibus' press – designed for all.¹² The main point to be made here is that, in an increasingly competitive media market, these different profiles potentially influence the coverage of culture, lifestyle and consumption.

For reasons illustrated by the Sex and the City example given above, the study includes newspaper articles that exist in the continuum between art, popular culture, lifestyle and consumption, and which have been placed not only in the cultural pages and in sections dedicated to lifestyle and consumption, but across all sections of the newspapers – national and foreign news, business news etc. I have concentrated on journalistic copy only, rather than advertising, letters to the editor, satire or cartoons. The sample consists of 2813 articles,¹³ analysed on the basis of an extensive coding manual. This article presents results that point to the arguments surrounding 'journalism on culture' as a topic of editorial priority and differentiation across the newspapers analysed, as well as to the blurring of boundaries among topics and genres.

PRIORITY AND MAPPING OF CONTENT

The content analysis demonstrates first and foremost that, during the period under study (the twentieth century to the present), Danish newspapers have multiplied the number of articles on culture and lifestyle that they run (Figure 1). Furthermore, these articles have increased in size (Figure 2). However, these results are probably as much a reflection of the expansion of and changes in newspapers that emerged after the introduction of the omnibus and tabloid press in 1905 in Denmark, expanding the topics treated, and increasing the use of illustrations (Figure 3), as these are an expression of the higher priority given to culture and lifestyle (see also Barnhurst and Nerone 2001).¹⁴

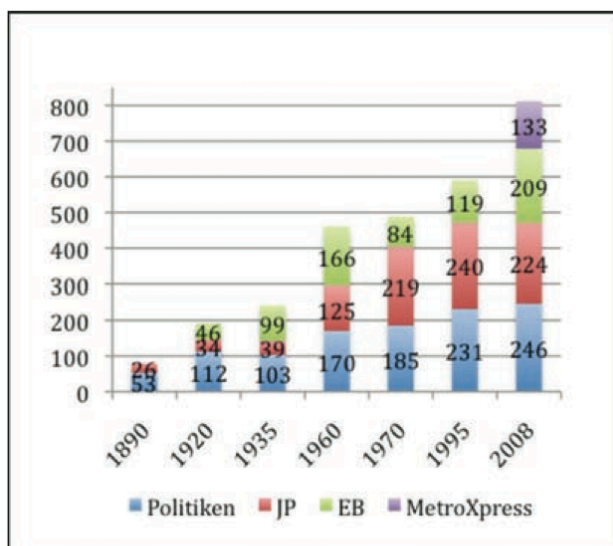


Figure 1: Number of articles ($n = 2813$).

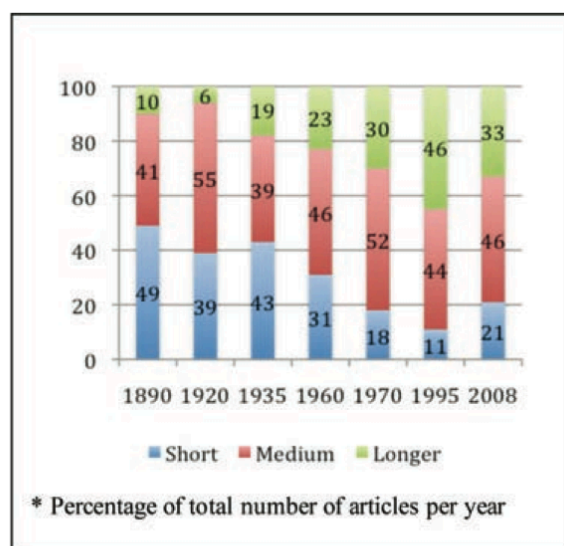


Figure 2: Length of articles.

At first sight the study would seem to confirm that the centre-left broad- sheet Politiken gives precedence to culture, lifestyle and consumption, since among the articles in the sample, 39 per cent emanate from this newspaper, compared to 32 per cent from Jyllands-Posten, 24 per cent from Ekstra Bladet and 5 per cent from MetroXpress. Yet over the course of the period as a whole there is considerable variation as to which newspaper publishes the most arti- cles of this nature; in 2008, when measured by the number of articles on these subjects, no single newspaper stood out. On the contrary: culture, lifestyle and consumption were shared subjects of priority and interest. When measured by the length of copy and use of

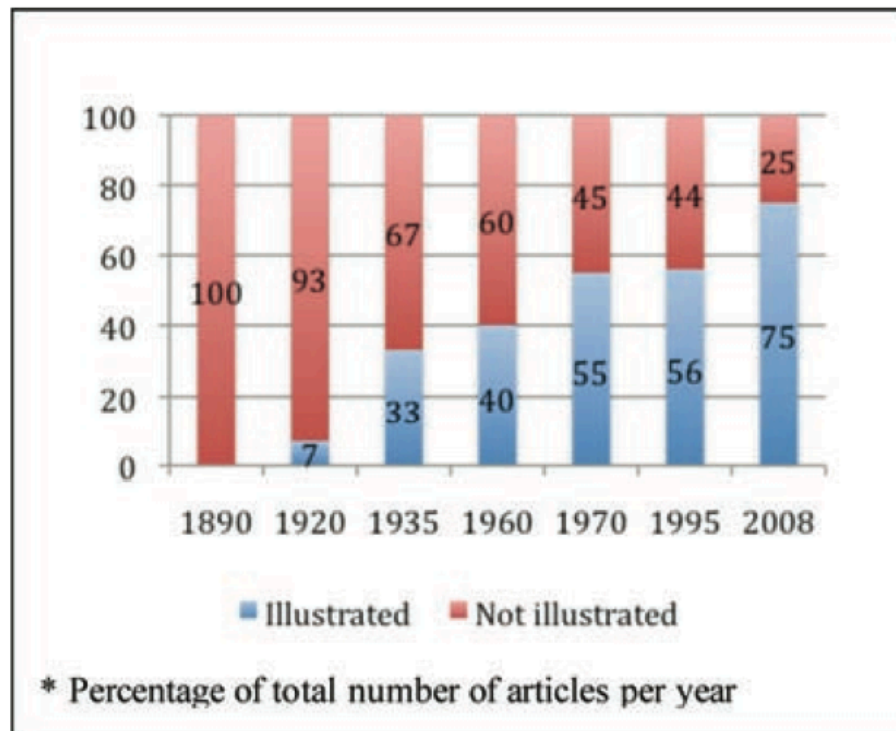


Figure 3: Illustrated articles.

illustrations, the differences in the 2008 sample reflect the overall characteristics of the different kinds of newspapers: there are significantly more medium-long and long articles, accompanied by fewer illustra- tions, in the broadsheets (especially Politiken), which are thus textually heavier than the tabloid and free newspaper (see also Jensen 2001b: 32; Franklin 2008: 15f). The variations should thus not be construed as indicating that the broadsheets necessarily give higher priority to culture, lifestyle and consumption.

Another, perhaps more solid, indicator of the varying priority given to culture, lifestyle and consumption in different sorts of newspapers may be gained by the notion of 'mapping' content. Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) use 'visual mapping' as a term for changes regarding typography, photographs, layout and organization of content in American newspapers in the 1920s and 1930s. In this Danish study only the organization or segmentation of content is analysed. Yet this does reflect the 'social mapping' of content outlined by Barnhurst and Nerone (2001: 245), who identify an increasing segregation of content between topics relating to the public sphere on the one hand, and to civil society on the other. In the Danish context, the first signs of such map- ping were an increased usage of bars at the top of the newspaper pages. In the samples analysed, this practice emerges first in 1920 and becomes espe- cially prevalent by 1935, when the bars indicate that priority is given to the dramatic arts and later on to film, television and topics relating to the family and to leisure time. As of

1960 and 1970 the newspapers increasingly divide their topics into rather broad sections. In 1995 and 2008 these divisions have become more pervasive and identify more precisely the content and cultural orientation of the different sections – and newspapers. The sectioning of the broadsheet Politiken in 2008, for example, explicitly points to a cultural profile, but some priority is given to matters relating to everyday life as well, since Politiken has a cultural section and several supplementary sections devoted to both specific cultural subjects, e.g. books, and everyday life. A considerable number of cultural articles also find their way into the national and foreign news pages of Politiken. By contrast, both Jyllands-Posten and Ekstra Bladet in 2008 have several sections dedicated to lifestyle and consumption, targeted at different reader segments in a manner similar to that of the magazine press (Povlsen 2007). In Jyllands-Posten, however, the cultural pages are part of the first section, which can be read in two ways: on the one hand, it suggests that culture is included in the public sphere on equal terms with politics and economics (Jensen and Larsen 2010); on the other, it suggests that culture is placed in a secondary position, since – unlike the paper's business coverage, for example – there is no section specifically devoted to it. In Ekstra Bladet, there is no editorial marking and specific placing of the cultural topics at all, confirming Barnhurst and Nerone's contention (2001: 252) as to the lack of segregation of content in this type of newspaper. All cultural articles in the free newspaper MetroXpress are placed under bars at the top of the page, typically titled 'Culture'. However, every tenth article is placed under the page heading 'Domestic', which confirms that stories on culture are not uncommon in other parts of the newspaper aside from those dedicated specifically to culture.

To sum up, on the one hand, the increasing segregation of topics, the establishment of a series of sections dedicated to culture and lifestyle, and the increasing length and considerable visual dimension of the coverage demonstrate that these subjects today have high priority throughout the printed press. On the other hand, the trend towards mapping of content indicates a shift in cultural focus and a continuously changing definition of culture, leaving different cultural profiles among the newspapers observable today: culture and everyday life have priority in Politiken, consumption and lifestyle in Jyllands-Posten, and male consumerism and celebrity or entertainment culture in Ekstra Bladet.

CONTINUED SEPARATION AND INCREASING MIXING OF SUBJECTS

The distinction between culture on the one hand and lifestyle/consumption on the other seems to have been preserved in the printed press – at first glance contrary to the hypothesis of this study.

Two out of three articles focus exclusively on culturally related matters, while approximately one in four focuses on topics relating to lifestyle or consumption (Figure 4). At the same time, the analysis documents an increasing tendency to mix subjects within the same article. In 2008, more than one in ten articles touch upon topics relating to both culture and lifestyle/consumption – and this mixing of topics seems to have intensified, with some fluctuations, especially in the second part of the twentieth century. This hybrid tendency is most noticeable in Politiken and least so in Jyllands-Posten.

Lastly, the overall categorization of the topics of the articles analysed shows increased coverage of matters relating to lifestyle and consumption. This confirms the changes noted as to the division or mapping of content. From a broader perspective this trend reflects the 'lifestyling' of prime time television that has taken place especially since the end of the 1990s. In their British and Danish contexts, respectively, Brunsdon (2003) and Christensen (2008), for example, have documented that a broad range of factual entertainment programmes on home, gardening, personal style, health, childcare etc., with advice and guidance on 'the good life', have dominated television programming during the last decade.¹⁵ Yet in the Danish

printed press, the emphasis on such subjects is not a new phenomenon – they have been covered for a long time, but increasingly so, as the following section makes clear.

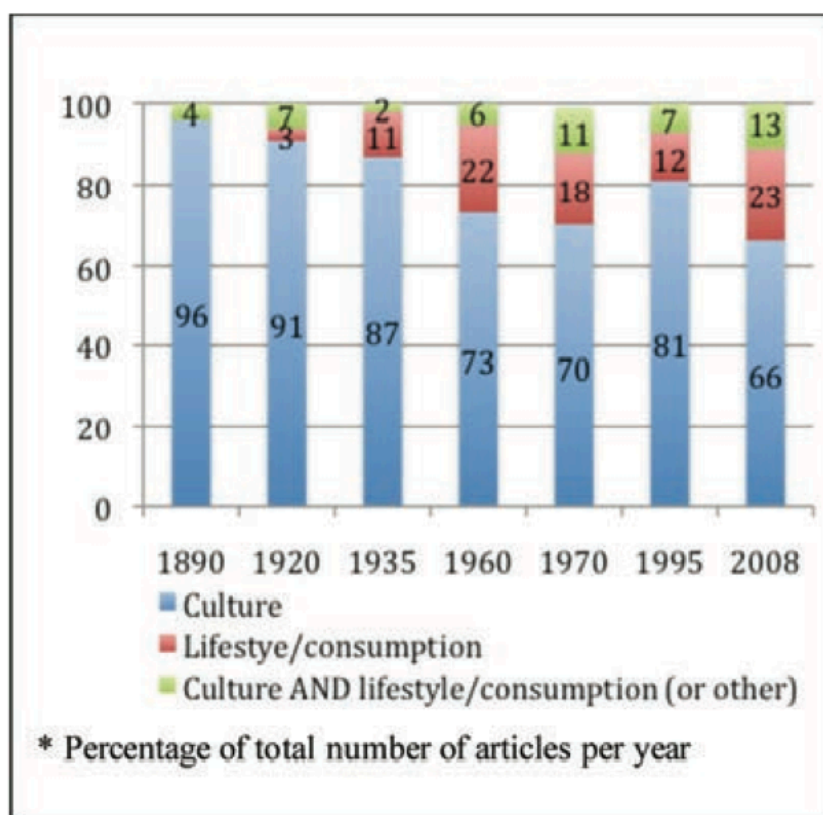


Figure 4: Overall subjects.

FIVE MAIN TENDENCIES

With regard to the subjects covered specifically during the twentieth century the analysis points to five main tendencies: (1) stability; (2) shifts within the same cultural domain; (3) periodic golden ages; (4) marginalization and (5) new subjects entering the cultural scene.

1. First and foremost, a number of topics benefited from rather stable coverage during the twentieth century and beyond (with minor fluctuations). Literature (fiction and non-fiction), for example, was high on the agenda during the entire period under review; between 10 and 20 per cent of all articles in the years analysed touch upon this topic, though the tabloid gives it less priority than do the broadsheets. This finding confirms the conclusions drawn by Janssen (1999), Lund (2005) and NAJP (2004), but with the very important rider that the Danish press has long devoted considerable attention to books and literature. One may, however, assume certain changes in the kinds of literature the newspapers cover, consequent on generic developments within popular forms (crime, horror, science fiction etc.) and the gradual blurring of the distinction between fine and popular literature as such, noticeable in the rise of bestsellers since the 1960s. Other developments also play into this phenomenon, such as an increase in the channels of distribution (libraries, weekly magazines, cheap paperbacks, book clubs) (Jensen 2001a: 103–25, 245–59; 2001b: 260–70).

However, the empirical design of this study differentiates only between fiction and non-fiction literature.

The coverage of museums, visual arts and architecture has also not markedly changed. None of these topics has at any time dominated the cultural columns. In fact, architecture (especially in the tabloids) was almost absent until 1995, though in theory it is listed among the classical arts (Titchener 1998: 17). This seems to be the case with cultural politics and with home/garden/interior decoration/design as well. The first of these items, however, underwent a slight increase in coverage after 1970, following the establishment of the Danish Ministry of Culture (1961) and The Danish Arts Foundation (1964; this latter distributes public funds to art and culture based on an arm's-length principle) (Duelund 2001), while coverage of the latter subjects increased slightly in 2008, echoing the 'lifestyling' of contemporary television content (Christensen 2008). However, from a more qualitative perspective, the mode of address in the coverage of, for example, home/garden/interior decoration/design has changed considerably, confirming Christensen's conclusions in relation to television (2008, 2010). Whereas the media used to address their recipients as a collective of citizens, who were then informed on a variety of subjects, today they address their recipients as individual consumers of specific ways of life – or lifestyles.

The main point to be made in this context, however, is that several subjects relating to both art and consumption have been given more or less the same priority (whether high or low) by the Danish press throughout the twentieth century and beyond. This indicates a long history of a rather broad approach to culture in the newspapers.

2. Other subjects have undergone a shift of focus within the same overall cultural domain, for example the coverage of music. Whereas in this analysis classical music was until 1935 among the three most prominently covered subjects, it has since taken a more secondary position. Also from 1935 onwards, popular music has gained greater and greater priority, not least after 1970, when it became (and since when it has remained) among the three most covered subjects. Not surprisingly, this reflects the 'music cultural' development of non-classical music, especially rock, in Denmark (see also Jensen and Larsen 2010), above all since the 1960s. Furthermore, it ties in with the wider distribution of popular music by the broadcast media that occurred at the same time (Jensen 2001b: 61–8). In this respect, the Danish data confirm the Scandinavian, Dutch and American results presented by Lund (2005), Janssen (1999) and NAJP (2004).

A similar shift occurs concerning stories about members of the royal family and celebrities. Whereas the royal family was at the centre of many stories at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (most notably in 1890), their presence in the pages of the press has diminished considerably since then (and changed qualitatively as well, as already mentioned) – unlike that of celebrities, who by 2008 had become the focus of considerable coverage. Since sensationalism and personalization are basic characteristics of the tabloid press (Gripsrud 1992: 85) and the ongoing discussion of the tabloidization of the media is often linked to celebrity culture (Turner 2004), it is not surprising to find that Ekstra Bladet gives massive coverage to celebrities, to the extent of making them the focus of one in every four stories. In 1935 we also find celebrities being accorded a lot of attention across the broadsheets. This reflects the breakthrough of talking pictures at the beginning of the 1930s (see below) and points to the increasing role of cultural journalism in the interplay of the construction of 'celebrities' and movie marketing (Marshall 1997). Thus, it is a first sign of the media as interface, to use Hjarvard's term (2008a: 125) – in this case between the film industry and its audience. At the same time, the great attention devoted to celebrities in 2008 by the Danish newspapers confirms Turner's (2004) argument concerning 'the demotic turn' in celebrity culture across the global media and culture industry. That is, an increasing number of 'ordinary people' are made famous by the media themselves rather than because

they possess any innate talent. Thus, this trend indicates the process of mediatization of which journalism on culture can be said to be a part – and to which it contributes – with the increasing coverage, production and reproduction of both celebrities and the media industry.

3. Certain subjects have periodically undergone longer or shorter golden ages. Film, for example, was a dominant subject between 1935 and 1960, after the introduction of talking pictures, but has since played a diminishing role. Thus, the extensive coverage of film by the newspapers in the middle of the twentieth century reflects the patterns of cultural consumption of the Danish public at the time, since movies were a primary mass entertainment phenomenon in Denmark from the 1930s to the 1950s, while from the 1960s onwards television became a powerful competitor for the public's attention (Dinnesen and Kau 1983: 85, 285, 387). Similarly, subjects related to everyday-life and leisure time (children, family, relationships, sex, hobbies etc.) were covered quite intensively in the 1960 and 1970 samples. The mapping of content also indicates this, and, more generally, topics such as these reflect the changing patterns of society at that time, including the rise of women's liberation and the erosion of boundaries between the private and the public (Jerslev and Christensen 2009: 19). Since then these subjects have played a diminishing role in the press, indicating that an anthropological approach to culture is not a new phenomenon in Danish newspapers, but actually had its prime decades ago – anticipating the service and consumer approach that arose in Scandinavian journalism from the 1980s (Eide 1992).

4. A few subjects have undergone marginalization. This is especially true of dramatic art, the most dominant cultural subject in the samples up until 1935; since 1970 it has increasingly been downplayed. The same development is observable with folk culture (carnivals, parades, festivals etc.), which was central at the beginning of the twentieth century but – following a growing number of alternative entertainment and media offers as the century wore on – experienced decreasing coverage. By 2008, however, this topic had slightly picked up again. Thus, the mainstream or popular culture of the early twentieth century was actually very much at the centre of the Danish press. This shows that journalistic attention devoted to more common cultural forms is not a new phenomenon. What has changed is the focus and producer-consumer relations of these cultural forms, concurrently with the development of a cultural and media industry or 'mass culture', and this in turn is reflected in the press coverage. Sparks (1992:28ff) explains how 'popular culture', 'folk culture' and 'mass culture' form a triad (referring to Stuart Hall), how the emergence of industrial capitalism distanced the producers of folk culture from their cultural consumers, and how this resulted in 'mass culture' (see also Guins and Cruz 2005: 4–9).

5. Finally, new subjects have entered the newspapers and cultural columns with greater or lesser impact – first and foremost the media (understood as the institutions, the industry and the professional producers of content). In the analysis, the media first appear on the journalistic agenda in 1960, in the wake of television's breakthrough in Denmark in the 1950s. Since then, media has been among the three most popular subjects in newspapers (with a small blip in 1995), reflecting the increasing popularity of this new medium among the Danish population, especially since the 1960s (Jensen 2001b: 125–126). This indicates a quite early interest by the press in the media as a set of cultural and commercial institutions and/or producers of cultural content, but one that grew in importance over the years, perhaps as a consequence of the increasing market and audience orientation of the media industry since the 1980s (Hjarvard 2008a). Into this equation comes the increasing interest in celebrities, who, as pointed out above, are today products of the media themselves. Thus, the

importance given to the media as a subject in the printed press reflects an interest in the media not only as products but also as active participants in a cultural (and political) circuit.

Lastly among these 'new subjects': as of 1960, food/beverages (including restaurants) enter the press agenda, markedly so in 2008, where we see a pronounced increase in coverage of these subjects. This reflects tendencies within the magazine press and television, where food has for the last decade been given a high priority as a result, among other things, of an increasingly reflexive society (Povlsen 2007; Povlsen and Christensen 2008). To this list we should add travelling/tourism and cars/motorcycles/boats, all of which were covered prior to 1960, but especially since then have increased in coverage concurrently with the developing consumer society. None of these consumer-related subjects at any time plays a dominant role, but from a more qualitative perspective it seems that their coverage has moved on from simple detailed product presentations towards an increasing emphasis on their symbolic and social value as markers of taste and lifestyle. Thus, this trend confirms the processes of culturalization and mediatization of consumption that Jansson (2002) argues for.

In summary, the analysis shows that many of the classical cultural subjects – museums, visual arts, architecture, cultural politics etc. – have not at any time during the twentieth century played a dominant role in the Danish newspapers. Accordingly, only a few of these subjects – for example, the dramatic arts and classical music – can be said to have been marginalized in recent years. Correspondingly, the changes regarding the attention devoted to folk culture, and thus to more popular cultural forms in earlier times, seem to be an expression of a changing mass culture, but also an expression of more popular cultural forms being addressed by the press during the entire period under study.

Although the cultural focus of the media has, quite naturally, changed concurrently with the rise of (mass) media and other cultural industrial transformations of the twentieth century, these results suggest that we need to be cautious when we approach the history of cultural journalism from a normative perspective, since a hypothesis based on 'cultural journalism in decline' tends to neglect certain features that have not actually changed.

CULTURAL PROFILES

Notwithstanding the overall changes and continuities, an analysis of the three subjects most covered by the four newspapers at different times during the twentieth century provides a more nuanced picture (Figure 5). At the beginning of the century all the newspapers analysed covered the same two or three subjects most intensively, focusing especially on dramatic art, literature and folk culture. This indicates a shared cultural agenda, at least to some extent, reflecting the concept of the omnibus press and thus the newspapers as cultural institutions. During the second part of the century more distinct individual profiles develop. In the broadsheets the dominant subjects increasingly represent a smaller proportion of the total coverage, indicating a shift towards more diverse coverage. This is the case not least with Politiken, where the considerable size of the 'other' category in both 1995 and 2008 indicates that this newspaper explores and expands the boundaries of culture as a concept more extensively than other newspapers. Assembled under the category 'other' are namely stories that do not fit into any of the defined categories – stories about 'clubbing' or 'health/exercise as lifestyle', for example. It thus reflects the cultural-radical history of Politiken (Bredal 2009: 439ff), where subjects such as industrial design and fashion trends tend to be treated from an artistic perspective, or as expressions of cultural history. Similarly, the shift in Jyllands-Posten from giving primacy to visual arts in 1970 and 1995 to folk culture and food in 2008 indicates a move from a more artistic to a broader approach to, or a prioritizing of, cultural and lifestyle-related subjects. This confirms the shifts indicated by the mapping of content in this newspaper.

	1890	1920	1935	1960	1970	1995	2008
Politiken	Dramatic arts (28%)	Dramatic arts (31%)	Dramatic arts (27%)	Dramatic arts (24%)	Literature (16%)	Literature (20%)	Popular music (16%)
	Folk culture (21%)	Folk culture (18%)	Classical music (19%)	Film (17%)	Everyday life (16%)	Popular music (16%)	Literature (16%)
	Literature (19%)	Literature (14%)	Film (14%)	Leisure time/hobby (10%)	Classical music (15%)	Other (10%)	Other (13%)
Jyllands-Posten	Royal family (42%)	Dramatic arts (38%)	Dramatic arts (18%)	Dramatic arts (18%)	Literature (18%)	Visual arts (17%)	Literature (15%)
	Dramatic arts (31%)	Literature (27%)	Folk culture (15%)	Media (16%)	Visual arts (12%)	Literature (15%)	Popular music (14%)
	Museums (12%)	Royal family (24%)	Royal family (15%)	Litteratur (14%)	Dramatic arts (11%)	Popular music (14%)	Folk culture (12%)/ Food (12%)
Ekstra Bladet		Literature (26%)	Dramatic arts (28%)	Beauty/Fashion (21%)	Media (21%)	Celebrities (24%)	Celebrities (46%)
		Dramatic arts (20%)	Film (27%)	Media (20%)	Popular music (17%)	Popular music (24%)	Popular music (20%)
		Folk culture (15%)	Celebrities (14%)	Film (10%) Everyday life (10%)	Beauty / fashion (17%)	Media (17%)	Media (13%)
Metro-Xpress							Popular music (19%)
							Celebrities (17%)
							Film (14%)

Figure 5: The three most covered subject by each newspaper in each analysed year.

Almost the opposite seems to be the case with the tabloid Ekstra Bladet, where a few subjects make up an increasing proportion of the coverage, not least in 2008 when celebrity stories play an especially dominant role; however, this also fits precisely with the newspaper's profile. A profile along these lines had already emerged by 1935, with considerable priority given to film and celebrities, and later to the media, showing the interplay already mentioned between film, media and celebrity culture. A similar pattern appears in the free newspaper MetroXpress, where film and celebrities are dominant subjects.

Despite these indications of differing cultural profiles it is important to note that, whereas all the newspapers covered the dramatic arts intensively at the beginning of the century, popular music is today a main subject of shared priority and competition. Yet when it comes to coverage of classical music, the distinct newspaper profiles re-emerge. Classical music is more or less absent in the tabloid and free daily in 2008, while it is covered more extensively in the broadsheets, especially in Jyllands-Posten, where it is actually the fourth most covered subject, confirming that the broadsheets are culturally more inclusive (see also Jensen and Larsen 2010).

Regardless of the shared interest in popular music shown by contemporary cultural journalism, the analysis of the three most dominant topics in the news- papers included in the study confirms both an increasing variety of cultural sub- jects covered across the newspapers, as already alluded to, and considerable and increasing variations among the newspapers analysed. This points to different cultural profiles – with more diversity in the broadsheets and a correspondingly greater homogeneity in the tabloid and to some extent the free newspaper.

PREVIEWS AND REVIEWS

Both the increasing diversity and the different media profiles are confirmed by the newspapers' use of genres (Figures 6 and 7). Once again, this part of the study finds evidence of change in certain areas, while in others the historical status quo has been maintained.

The two most characteristic genres of cultural journalism – the preview (or pre-announcement) and the review (Jensen and Larsen 2010) – have both been important throughout the twentieth century and beyond. Contrary to the view put forward by critics of contemporary cultural journalism (e.g. Bech-Karlsen 1991; Lund 2005), who argue that the cultural columns increasingly pre-announce cultural happenings and objects, this study shows that such an approach is not actually new. Newspapers have pre-announced cultural and consumer products for a long time. In 2008, the free newspaper and the broadsheet *Politiken* both had an extensive use of previews; in the latter instance this relates to the weekly publication (on Fridays) of the section 'In Town', which aims to provide a service as a cultural consumer guide. In general, however, there has been a minor increase in the mix of previews and in-depth genres such as interviews, portraits and background-stories relating to the launching of cultural products. In line with Larsen's (2008) Norwegian findings, these more extensive stories nonetheless pre-announce cultural and consumer-related objects, and increasingly include consumer information on such matters as price, place and time schedule.

Nonetheless, the generic flagship of cultural journalism – the review – has not been markedly marginalized in the Danish context by such previews. Reviews were especially prominent in *Politiken* in 2008, reflecting the newspaper's debating and cultural profile. By contrast there were fewer reviews in *Ekstra Bladet* in 2008, and this decline is mainly responsible for the overall decrease in reviews in the study from 1995 to 2008. The review, however, also functions as a kind of pre-announcement or consumer guide to cultural objects – and increasingly so: all the newspapers in the study have increased their use of ratings in relation to the reviews they run about cultural objects.¹⁶ Here we find exemplified the increase, mentioned above, in the service element of journalism, a trend observable since the 1980s (Eide 1992, 1995): the rating provides a condensed visual overview of the object being discussed. At the same time it blurs the boundaries between genres such as product test, consumer guide and cultural review. Such ratings are least frequently used in *Politiken*, with only half of its reviews rated in 2008, whereas they are consistently used in *Ekstra Bladet* and *MetroXpress*, and in *Jyllands Posten* three out of four reviews are rated. These distributions once again confirm the different cultural profiles of the four newspapers. In 2008 it is literature – both fiction and non-fiction – that is least frequently rated, indicating that this cultural area is perceived to be somewhat superior to the more commercial 'roll of the dice' (Eide 1995; Kristensen 2009).

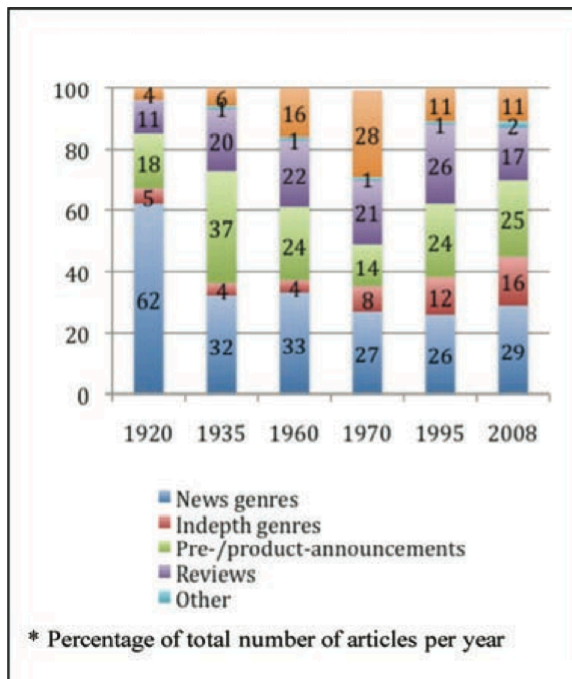


Figure 6: Use of genres.

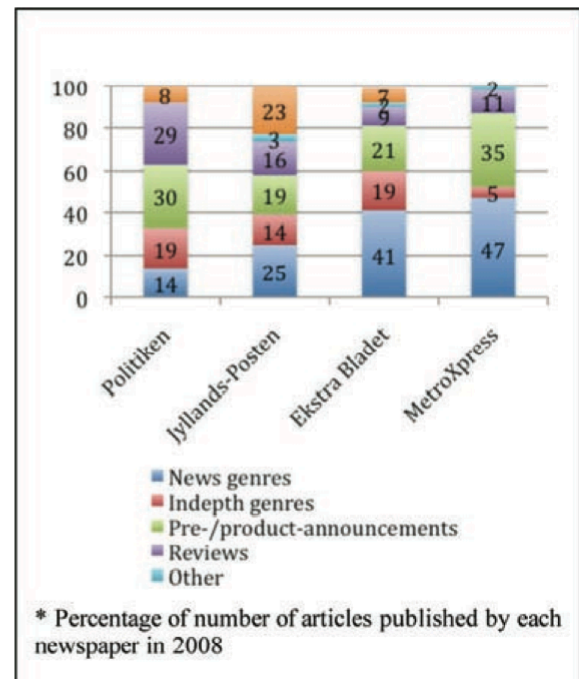


Figure 7: Use of genres in 2008.

Although neither the pre-announcement nor the review is a new genre, an increasing adaptation between the logic of the media and the logic of strategic communication is indicated. This is due to the fact that both consumer information such as prices, locations and time schedules, and indeed ratings, are valuable instruments of precise communication to the readers – readers who in this instance are ‘users’ of both the newspaper as media cultural product and the cultural objects covered by the newspaper. In this way such information not only plays a part as a consumer or cultural guide, but is also an important marketing feature for the cultural producers: it allows them to integrate the catchy punchlines and ratings of the cultural reviews into advertisements, posters, websites etc., which in turn provide further exposure for the newspaper and its (cultural) profile and critics. Such exposure has perhaps become more economically and culturally important to the newspapers since the introduction of the Internet, since this platform for user-generated reviews has challenged the authority, legitimacy and status of review(er)s in the printed press (Lavik 2008; Hjarvard 2009). All this points to an increasingly complex, cumulative and self-perpetuating interplay between the newspapers and the cultural producers/distributors, and indeed to an adaptation (Schulz 2004) by the cultural industry of a specific media logic or format (Lundby 2009), and vice versa. Accordingly, it exemplifies what Hjarvard (2008a: 114) has labelled an ‘indirect’ form of mediatization – that is, activities increasingly influenced in their form and content by media-made symbols and mechanisms.¹⁷

The newspapers also – and increasingly – prioritize in-depth genres such as the interview, the portrait or the analysis – and not only in combination with the release of new cultural objects. This trend is especially observable in the study since 1970 and may be the result of the press’s increasing competition with other forms of media. Differentiating their content by way of in-depth genres, for example, allows the newspapers to stand out against the ever shorter content-span typical of television coverage (Hallin 1992; Hjarvard 1999). Thus, this phenomenon may be the result of more general changes within print journalism and the media landscape. It may also simply be the result of an increasing amount of cultural pages and lifestyle sections that need to be filled (Jacobsen 2009: 483). It can at least be

interpreted as another indication of the increasing priority given to culture and lifestyle by the press – that is, to cover these subjects in-depth and extensively. Data illustrated in Figure 2 show that articles on culture and lifestyle have increased in size over the years, and therefore the increased coverage is not due to more extensive use of illustrations alone.¹⁸

DISCUSSION

The empirical conclusions presented in this article point to the transformations of the media outlined by Hjarvard's (2008a: 113ff) approach to mediatization – from instruments in the hands of other institutions, to cultural institutions, and finally to media institutions.

More specifically the results document the changing cultural focus of certain Danish newspapers during the twentieth century and beyond, despite the presence of a broad and 'popular' approach to culture throughout the period under analysis. We can witness a change in focus from high art (especially theatre) and folk culture as dominant subjects at the beginning of the century to, among others topics, media, popular music and celebrity culture in contemporary cultural journalism. Such topics are very closely interconnected, as Marshall (1997) demonstrates in his analysis of the construction of celebrities by television and popular music. At the same time, however, celebrities have increasingly become a media-made phenomenon, for, as Turner argues (2004: 9), 'over the 1990s, the celebrity turned into such an important commodity that it became a greatly expanded area for content development by the media itself'. Whereas culture – understood as both the traditional arts and folk culture – was earlier on an important topic for the omnibus press from an informational or educational perspective, and was mixed in with a variety

of political, economic and societal stories, today a broad variety of subjects in the fields of culture, lifestyle and consumption has become valuable to the newspapers as independent and competing media institutions. An increasing number of the articles and, not least, the lifestyle magazine-like sections dedicated to this broad, but media-specific, cultural palette are themselves cultural products that aim to inform, entertain, guide and provide services to their readers, primarily in the commercial interest of the newspapers. Such readers represent users and consumers of both the newspaper as a media cultural product and the culture and lifestyle covered by the newspapers.

Thus, the study at hand documents that important changes in the coverage of culture, lifestyle and consumption coincide with corresponding media-institutional and professional, journalistic changes, not the least of which have been (in the Danish context) widespread deregulation and increasing commercial competition over the last past twenty years. These developments are naturally part of the larger, globalized culture-industrial transformations that characterized more than half the twentieth century – developments in the culture industry that have, as mentioned above, given rise to the somewhat critical tone of existing research on cultural journalism. One could argue, however, that they are as much a result of specific changes in the relations between society and specific media institutions (newspapers) in a specific national context (the Danish), at a specific time in history (the late twentieth and early twenty-first century). This would support Hjarvard's (2008a: 113) argument that 'Mediatization is no universal process that characterizes all societies. It is primarily a development that has accelerated particularly in the last years of the twentieth century in modern, highly industrialized, and chiefly western societies'.

In line with this, the present study of cultural journalism in the Danish press points to a complex interplay between newspapers, cultural institutions and cultural producers: they are at once competitors for the public's attention and means of cultural consumption, and mutually dependent and interconnected industries and institutions. Or to put it another way, the cultural producers are important providers of content for the increasing number of

pages devoted to culture and lifestyle stories in today's newspapers, while this increased press coverage in turn acts as a central marketing window and platform of public legitimacy for the producers of culture. The use of ratings and punchlines from the cultural reviews in the marketing of cultural objects is a concrete example of an aspect of the media logic underlying the actions of cultural producers, in this case for obvious commercial reasons. Another trend is the increasing flow of information directed towards the cultural desks by cultural producers in order to influence the media agenda and the public debate on cultural issues, a trend that has been documented by other studies (e.g. Kristensen 2003; Strahan 2009). These proactive efforts by both performing artists and public relations managers from the cultural field serve to promote cultural objects or influence, for example, the political distribution of cultural funding (Kristensen 2003). This precisely exemplifies the media both as interfaces, that is to say providers of 'cultural' experiences, and as platforms for attending to the (cultural and political) legitimacy of culture. The study presented in this article does not elucidate in detail whether or not cultural coverage is increasingly influenced by, or based on, these 'information subsidies' (Gandy [1982] 1991). What can be said is that the increasingly in-depth focus on culture and lifestyle, as documented by the use of genres, indicates more extensive media exposure of

the individual cultural artist or cultural object. Similarly, the study points to cultural performers and representatives from the cultural institutions and the industry as the two single most important kinds of news sources, and, to some extent, increasingly so. That is, from the perspective of the media, they represent the two most important constituencies within this sphere – more important than politicians and experts, for example.

Within the cultural sphere itself, however, there are also examples of reluctance towards the media logics and thus, in broader terms, towards the process of mediatization. One example is the launching of a new 'communication prize' in November 2008 by the Danish Arts Council, which promotes artistic development in Denmark and Danish art abroad. The launching of this prize was based on a premise that precisely points to the changing relationship between cultural institutions and the media:

'It is the impression of the Danish Arts Council that it has become markedly more difficult to make the Arts visible and debate the Arts in a qualified manner through the traditional media. It is the impression of the Council that the coverage of art and culture today has such a low priority at many news desks that cultural journalism in the mass media is more like a form of product launching and consumer information than proper critical debate-generating communication about art. Communication of the arts has become populist and is driven by market conditions rather than public service ideals, and there is a lack of a more general art critique, which relates to tendencies, debates society and challenges conventional thinking'.

(<http://www.kunst.dk/statens-kunstraad/formidling/formidlingsprisen>, Accessed 21 February 2010, my translation)

The empirical data presented in this article both confirm and contest this statement by, on the one hand, pointing to a broadening in the cultural fields covered by the newspapers and, on the other, documenting that previews are not a new phenomenon and thus cannot be said to be a product of the culture industry in the second part of the twentieth century. Neither has the review – the newspapers' platform for cultural critique – been marginalized. Rather, it has changed its form in accordance with media professional principles and strategic communication interests. In the light of this study's findings, the Danish Arts Council's new 'communication prize' thus exemplifies in more general terms the way in which cultural institutions are being progressively subjected to increasingly independent, 'uncontrollable' media institutions with their own cultural agenda and logic. That is, media institutions that

seem sovereign to the more elitist or high cultural interests, self-understandings or logics, of cultural institutions such as the Danish Arts Council, an institution that from its own point of view enjoyed better representation in the omnibus press and in the public service tradition that characterized newspapers as cultural institutions.

In the processes described here of strategic communication and cultural and political legitimation, the individual cultural profiles and accordingly the readership of the newspapers are becoming increasingly important to the cultural producers and the cultural sphere. Seen from the newspapers' perspective, however, the cultural sphere first and foremost provides content to the newspapers' own cultural production. As Hjarvard argues (2008a), it serves as raw material, which might be one explanation for the discontent of, for example, the Danish Arts Council with contemporary cultural journalism. Among the different newspapers, however, this raw material is treated quite variously, depending on their specific readerships. This explains why, as the present study indicates, the cultural profiles and agendas of the various newspapers covered in the study seem more differentiated today than ever, but also more differentiated than, for example, the political agendas covered by the same newspapers. For instance, Bro and Ørsten (2009) document a consensus across the Danish newspapers as to which political areas it is important to cover. Yet, in line with Hjarvard's argument, mentioned above, concerning political parallelism especially in the Danish broadsheets (i.e., parallelism between the political orientation of the newspaper and its readers), our own study indicates that, in the contemporary Danish newspaper market, newspapers prioritize a cultural profile and agenda that fits with or parallels their individual readers.

Although it may not seem surprising that the four newspapers included in this study today have quite different cultural profiles and approaches to culture, these very differences confirm that culture and lifestyle are currently important subjects of differentiation and profiling for all newspapers in their role as commercial and professional media institutions in an increasingly competitive media landscape.

NOTES

1. The Swedish author and editor Stefan Jonsson, for example, asked in the Danish newspaper *Information* (1 November 2006), 'Where is the cultural journalism? It is not present, it is occupied with something else', referring to a distorted interest by Danish journalists in cultural pseudo-events – book launchings and film premieres – rather than in providing a nuanced and critical debate.

2. When comparing these studies it is important to bear in mind that their empirical design differs from case to case, e.g. in their definitions of what constitutes a cultural article. Similarly, systemic differences in the press and media are important structural contexts that might help explain differences in the coverage of culture by, for example, American newspapers based on a liberal model, and Danish newspapers based on a democratic corporatist model – to use Hallin and Mancini's definitions (2004).

3. Jensen (2001a:317ff) points to three types of cultural influence: (1) imported cultural products and translations, (2) cultural products adapted for the Danish market and (3) national products, shaped in an American image. All categories include movies, cartoons, magazines, music, books etc.

4. Hjarvard points to two contradictory tendencies: the increasing segmentation of media content (and thus the targeting of specific audiences with specific content) and the popularity of large media events that gather a broad public.

5. Lundby (2009) points to 'media logic' as a concept with a multitude of meanings, not least in theoretical discussions about mediatization.

6. This might be precisely the reason why existing studies have prioritized a more focused approach.

7. The sample looks at the first Monday in February, the first Tuesday in March, the first Wednesday in April etc. in each year analysed in order to avoid colliding with events like fashion weeks or film festivals, which could distort the sample from a specific year.

8. The coding manual listed 31 specific subjects within the broad range of culture, lifestyle and consumption, including an unspecific 'other' category. Each article could be coded for up to three different subjects in order to be able to capture the potential blurring around topical boundaries. This has resulted in 3712 subject-codings; 29 per cent of the articles were coded for two subjects, but only 3 per cent for three subjects. The 'other' category was used in relation to a mere 78 articles, indicating that the specific categories proved adequate. In our analysis, the original 31 categories were reduced to 22, since some categories appeared rarely, and could reasonably be merged due to their related focus; for example, the categories 'restaurants/cafes', 'food', 'alcoholic drinks/beverages' and 'non-alcoholic drinks/beverages' were merged to form a single category 'food/ beverages'.

9. Krippendorff (2004:16) goes so far as to argue that 'all reading of texts is qualitative, even when certain characteristics of a text are converted into numbers'.

10. The economic funding of the study did not allow the inclusion of a broader range of newspapers.

11. One may contest the inclusion of only one media platform, since the reporting of culture, lifestyle and consumption in a variety of media – for example magazines and the Internet – has probably influenced the historical development of the coverage as well. This limitation is a pragmatic necessity, however, and bearing in mind the historical perspective of the study, the printed press seems an appropriate choice of media platform.

12. At the turn of 2002/2003, Politiken, Jyllands-Posten and Ekstra Bladet were joined in the distribution company JP/Politikens Hus. Thus, even though they have maintained their editorial autonomy and specificity (Bredal 2009: 533f), they are today part of the same, significant Danish media corporation (see also Schultz 2007: 19). MetroXpress is associated with JP/ Politikens Hus as well (<http://www.jppol.dk/da/artikler/gratisaviser.aspx>, downloaded 6 February 2010).

13. More specifically, an article – or analytical item – consisted in either at least three lines of copy with a heading or at least five lines of copy without a heading. The early newspapers especially tended to include very small bits of copy, often not more than one sentence, which were thus not considered an article. At the same time, the newspapers throughout the period published numerous articles without headings, which were included if they comprised five lines of copy or more. References on the front page to articles inside the newspaper were only included if they consisted in both a heading and at least three lines of copy.

14. All articles were accessed from microfilm, and thus copied in very different formats and sizes. Consequently, we have no exact data with which to measure the relative expansion of articles on culture and lifestyle compared to the newspapers as such, including the space dedicated to articles versus advertisements.

15. Whereas Brundson (2003) argues that this is a result of daytime television entering into British prime time, Christensen (2008) argues that it reflects the conversion of lifestyle magazine subjects for Danish television audiences.

16. Ratings were more or less absent in 1970, but were established in one in three reviews in 1995, and in two in three in 2008.

17. Hjarvard (2008a: 114f) distinguishes between two levels of mediatization: a direct/strong one, in which formerly non-mediated activities take on media-form – for example when art exhibitions or concerts are (only) available online; and an indirect/weak one, in which activities are 'increasingly influenced with respect to the form, content, or organization

of mediagenic symbols or mechanisms' (Hjarvard 2008a: 114f) – for example when we buy concert tickets online by means of the mobile phone on the way home from work on the metro.

18. This confirms Barnhurst's conclusions (2005) that, contrary to what journalists themselves believe, newspaper articles have increased in size over a long period. However, Barnhurst's latest study (2010) points to the opposite trend in later years following the introduction of the Internet.

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